1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 . OU9 Tonga OU9

brought uncooked and is provided by the bride's people; the *vai*, also brought uncooked; and the *umu manatu*, which is cooked.

The second day of the marriage is the day of purification. The woman is bathed with candlenut as detergent and afterwards presides at her kava ring. Then her bundles of mats and native cloth are brought and disposed of as she desires. Then these games and dances are held: (1) *tafoe*, a game; (2) *lanumanga*, a game; (3) *meetuupaki*, a dance. The third and last day of the rejoicings comprised: (1) *lave*, reciting and singing of poetry; (2) dances: *laufola*, *meetuupaki*, and other dances; (3) and various games.

DEATH

Burial seems to have been the only method of disposing of the dead in Tonga. It seems possible that some embalmment was practiced in which interment of the corpse was deferred several years. Collocott has sent me a note gleaned from the journal of an early Methodist missionary, now in the keeping of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which refers to the period from 1831 to 1837 and speaks of "a party celebrating *putu* (funeral) for a child who died seven years ago, but whose corpse was not interred until last week, which was the third and final mourning."

The body of a chief is anointed with scented oil, laid out in state, and fanned with a long-handled fly switch (*fue*) of coconut fiber. It was possibly in connection with embalming that the undertaker (*haatufunga*) removed the brains and apparently the intestines of the chiefly dead. Apparently, however, embalming was very rare in Tonga. The accounts of the burial of great personages such as the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga given by Wilson (65) and Mariner (40) give no hint of embalming or preservation over long periods.

The undertakers of Tonga are of the matapule class and are appointed like other matapule, great chiefs having as attendants during life the men who will perform the funerary functions for them at death. The chief undertaker of modern Tonga is Lauaki, one of the two great matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu. The Lauaki who functioned at the funeral of King George II in 1918 was still living in 1921. He is chief of the Haa Tufunga or "Lineage of Undertakers." The first Lauaki (Maliepo) is reputed to have been the paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and to have descended from the sky with him. Apparently the funeral duties of Lauaki are a development following his transfer from the Tui Tonga's court to the courts of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu. Lauaki seems to have had no mortuary duties for the Tui Tonga, for whom this service was rendered by the Tui Folaha.

Funeral matters were regarded as of great importance. In the court of the Tui Tonga a considerable number of matapule of the Falefa (p. 66) had special funerary duties to perform upon the death of the Tui Tonga.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The principal undertakers of the Tui Tonga in the time of the first Falefa were the matapule Aholangamaka and Mailau, who were under the Tui Folaha, the supervisor of stone vault construction. In the time of the second Falefa, at least Tui Loloko, Tui Matahau, and Tui Talau, and presumably also the fourth, Tui Amanave, had funerary functions. 767 565 644

At the present time the Tui Haa Teiho appoints Fiefia and Ngalu as his undertakers, while the Tui Kanokupolu has the great matapule Lauaki and the lesser matapule Mailau and Mau as his undertakers. Ulukalala of Vavau, like other Vavau chiefs, has no special undertaker, but when he dies it is likely that Lauaki or Mailau, or some other *haatufunga*, will look after him. There are many chiefs without undertakers. [622]

The undertakers now in Vavau are: Kata, grandson and representative of Lauaki; Vatuvei, formerly appointed by the Tui Tonga; Aholangamaka of Falevai, the son of Vatuvei. 767 551

Lamatau (full name Lamatuuaki: *lama*, to watch the end of life, and *tauaki*, almost dead) was also a *haatufunga* to the Tui Tonga. His duty was to watch beside the dying man, sitting with a *kie* or *ngafingafi* mat to spread over the corpse. The mat was supplied by the family of the dying person. After covering the corpse with it, the watcher removes the mat and goes off with it, retaining it as his property. 767 643 763 [551]

Preparation of the body for burial may be done also by relatives of equal or superior rank to the deceased, such as the *fae* (mother, real or classificatory) or the *mehekitanga* (father's sister, real or classificatory). 764

Mailau was the title of the matapule who supervised the cutting and moving of stones for the construction of royal tombs. Such work was seen by Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 150). Modern royal tombs are built of concrete; formerly they were of coral limestone. The Tui Tonga Laufilitonga's tomb, Langi Foou, is built of concrete on top of the ancient Langituofefafa. A list of royal tombs called langi is published (25, 125). The modern kings, the Tui Kanokupolu George I and George II, are buried in great terraced concrete tombs in the Malae Kula at Nukualofa. 764 643 767 349 [644]

Upon the undertakers the *nimatapu* (hand-tapu) was imposed for five, ten, or fifteen days, which meant that they could not feed themselves for that length of time after handling a corpse—being fed by others. The period varied with the rank of the deceased. The penalty for touching food was said to be punishment by the highest chief of the family. A *haatufunga* might or might not be a relative of the deceased. That the hand tapu on the undertaker followed the handling of the corpse of persons of scant rank is not certain. 767 784 264 [565] [565]

Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*. Anciently a commoner's corpse might or might not receive such attention, and it was 764 565 767

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

likely that a relative would attend to it. Now relatives of the deceased dig the grave, but the *haatufunga* supervises. Every funeral has its accompanying feasts and kava drinking. All who attend a funeral partake of the feast. At a chief's funeral the *haatufunga* officiate at the feast, giving out the food. The head of the largest pig goes to him. Food may be taken home after distribution or eaten at once. The feast is not in the house where the deceased passed away, but nearby on the same premises. There is no dancing at the present day funeral feasts.

It is incumbent upon the family of the deceased to pay the *haatufunga* with native wealth (*koloa*). A chief will have many fine mats and tapa which are used in payment. Ten, twenty, thirty, or sixty days elapse before payment is made to the *haatufunga*. The reason for the intervals was not given, except that the higher rank of the deceased, the longer the payment is deferred, and the bigger the payment. Anciently non-payment by a chief never occurred. Nowadays if no payment is made a lawsuit follows. Commoners, as well as people of rank, must pay, but no prearrangement of the amount is made with either.

For ten, fifteen, or twenty days there are morning kava ceremonies and small feasts following the big funeral feast. The *haatufunga* is present at these. At the first of these kavas, two or more *haatufunga* have an argument as to which of them is highest in rank—a purely formal traditional proceeding.

The funeral feast is called *feipulua*, the breakfast served by the family of the deceased on the morning after the burial, *fakapongipongi;* the funeral of a chief, *meafakaeiki*; the funeral of a commoner, *putu*.

The Female Tui Tonga managed the funeral of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui (66, p. 241), though doubtless the *haatufunga* officiated also. On this occasion two of Mumui's widows were strangled.

Tradition says that occasionally a *haatufunga* was imprisoned in the vault with the body of the chief or king he was interring (16, p. 77). At Houma, Tongatabu, when the vault of the chief Vaea was opened in 1903 the skeleton of a chief was found in proper position, lengthwise, and in one corner was the skeleton of a *haatufunga* who had been shut in the vault.

Each adult individual had a mourning song, called *tangilaulau*, to be sung at the obsequies of a relative or close friend. This song consisted of a definite tune, a simple theme oft repeated, and a lament, also oft repeated, extolling in a simple way the virtues of the dead and very tragically mourning over his departure. Such a lament was permanent with each individual, excepting for the interchange of such words as father and son, as occasion demanded.

These songs began immediately after a death and continued, more or less spasmodically, until the completion of all obsequies. They never were used

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

work being practical in its scope. Bottles of coconut oil seen at modern graves are to oil the black pebbles to make them appear even blacker.

The *kilikili*, or other decorative materials, were always placed on the grave by women, among whom were the female relatives of the dead and all neighboring women who contributed their work as *meaofa* (thing of love), which would later be reciprocated. The work and the feasting were accompanied and intervalled by mourning and crying. It is customary to hang wreaths and girdles called *sisi* at graves. Food is not offered to the dead, but mats and tapa may be.

If the dead were of chiefly rank, the ranking male representative of that chiefly family acted as director of the *lanukilikili*. He set the time for doing it and authorized his official matapule to gather materials and perform other necessary work. His wife, or, in the absence of a wife, the closest female representative, directed that part of the work to be done by women. If the dead was of matapule rank, the chief to whom that matapule owed allegiance directed the work as above, the actual managing, of course, being placed in the hands of an appointed matapule.

The following is an account of a recent interment of a woman of high rank, as witnessed by E. E. V. Collocott:

> Mary Siliukitapu, widow of the late Premier Tukuaho, and mother of the Prince Consort Tungi, died on the 29th of July, 1921, and was buried Saturday, the 30th of July in the same grave with her late husband. When the time came for the body to be placed in the vault a large piece of tapa was put up as a screen so that none but the *haatufunga* could see into the grave and behold the remains of Tukuaho. A work song (*tauaalo*) was sung whilst the body was being placed in the grave.
>
> A boy told me afterwards that he had assisted in the burial of a child related to Valu of Utulau. A vault in which a person had been previously buried was opened for the occasion. The boy said that he and others dug the sand off from the top of the vault, lifted the stone slab, and then retired to a distance, so as not to see into the vault. A *haatufunga* man alone was allowed to see the remains already there. When the covering slab was lifted he concealed these remains with tapa. He took the body of the dead child and put it in the grave.

Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker witnessed the opening of the vault in the Langi Olovehi at Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The vault was in the form of a truncated pyramid with four sides. Its base was about 8 feet long, top about 5 feet long, and depth 4 feet, the stones which formed the sides were about 1 foot thick. The vault was covered by stone slabs about 2 feet thick and 7 feet square which overlapped its mouth. These stones were of a yellowish coral and had a level surface. The body of Tuita which was to be interred was wrapped in fine mats and tapa; it was lowered feet first into the vault, as the opening was too short to allow it being put straight down. Passed round the edge of the slab were ropes for moving it and these were pulled by men standing on the ground below the tomb, as they were not allowed to stand on the terrace, because of the tapu. Only

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Only
the *haatufunga* were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafeao* or attendants of the great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nanasipauu (Female Tui Tonga), Manumataongo (son of Tui Tonga Laufilitonga), and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father).

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the interest of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26, pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tumulus is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest Makaui had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-compartment stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse.

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christianity has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart.

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living at Muitoa, Huano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai, was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from informants as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. However, a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general ancient conception I cannot say.

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine*, a word which Baker defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island, vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga-

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of disemboweling. Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death (See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems doubtful if the *moheofo,* or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cremation is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-man).

The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his body. The matapule acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive. His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his matapule to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao.* Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao.*

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the *fakafeao's* head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao,* or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of matapule or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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of an hour, the corner posts being taken up, the four pieces which compose the building (a kind of shed in a pyramidal form, the eaves reaching within four feet of the ground) were brought by a sufficient number of men, and put together at the place where it was wanted. This being done, the body was brought on the same hurdle or hand-barrow to the newly erected building, (if it may be so termed) and then being taken off the hurdle it was laid within, on the bale of *gnatoo*, and the house was hung round with black *gnatoo*, reaching from the eaves to the ground *. The women, who were now all assembled and seated round the body, began a most dismal lamentation, similar to that at Neáfoo; in the mean time a number of people, whose business it was to prepare graves, were digging the place of interment within the *fytoca*, under the direction of *Lanagi*, a mataboole whose office was to superintend such affairs. Having dug about ten feet, they came to the large stone vault, such as was described in the note p. 144; a rope being then

* This black *gnatoo*, or rather *gnatoo* of a dark colour, having a deep brown ground with black stripes, is not chosen on account of its colour, but because it is coarse and common (emblematical of poverty and sadness). They have a kind of *gnatoo* of very superior quality, but of the same colour and pattern, and this is used on occasions of rejoicing.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

the chief to whom they are attached. They have the management of all ceremonies. Their rank is from inheritance; and they are supposed to have been, originally, distant relations of the nobles, or to have descended from persons eminent for experience and wisdom, and whose acquaintance and friendship on that account became valuable to the king, and other great chiefs. As no son of a mataboole can assume that rank and title till his father be dead, the greater part of them are beyond the middle age of life, and, as it is their business to make themselves acquainted with all rites and ceremonies, and with the manners, customs, and affairs of Tonga, they are always looked up to as men of experience and superior information*. Some of the matabooles are adepts also at some art or profession, such as canoe-building, or superintending funeral rites: this last, though a ceremony, the generality of matabooles do not attend, as it is also a distinct profession. Those few that are canoe-builders are very perfect in their art, and only make canoes for the king, or other great chiefs. The matabooles

565 [196] [463] [167] [396] [173]

* The rank and office of the matabooles must be a very great advantage to the Tonga people: it may be presumed to be one great cause of the superiority of this nation over the inhabitants of the Fiji islands, the Society islands, the Sandwich islands, &c.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

555 ingenious, and therefore respectable; and hence
461 they have no motive sufficiently strong (unless
[431] it be sometimes laziness) to engage them to relinquish it, particularly as they obtain presents from their chiefs for their ingenuity. There is no positive law to oblige them to follow the business of their fathers, nor any motive but the honourable estimation in which their arts are held, or their own interest, or the common custom.

555 None of them are matabooles but a few of
461 the canoe builders and the superintendants of
565 funeral rites, perhaps about a fifth or a sixth
396 part of them, and some of these are very ex-
767 pert in cutting ornaments out of whales teeth
[306] for necklaces, or for inlaying clubs, likewise in
[719] making clubs and spears, and other warlike instruments, which are not separate professions, but arts practised by the canoe builders as being expert in the use of the togi or axe; at least there are no *toofoonga fono le* (inlayers of ivory), nor *toofoonga gnahi mea tow* (makers of warlike instruments), but who are also canoe builders. All the *toofoonga fo vaca* (canoe builders), and *toofoonga taboo* (intendants of funeral rites), that are not matabooles are mooas, for no person of so low a rank as a *tooa* can practise such respectable arts.

000 The remaining professions are followed both

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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Hereditary.	*Toofoonga fo vaca*; canoe-builders.	Followed both by *matabooles* and *mooas*.
	Toofoonga fono le; cutters of whale-teeth ornaments.	
	Toofoonga taboo; superintendants of funeral rites.	
Hereditary.	*Toofoonga ta maca*; stone-masons, or makers of stone vaults.	Followed both by *mooas* and *tooas*.
	Toofoonga jia cobenga; net-makers.	
	Toofoonga toty ica; fishermen.	
	Toofoonga langafalle; large house-builders.	
Hereditary or not.	*Toofoonga ta tottow*; those who perform the tattow.	
	Toofoonga tongi acow; club-carvers.	
	Toofoonga fy cava; barbers or shavers with shells.	Followed only by *tooas*.
Hereditary.	*Tangata fe oomoo*; cooks.	
	Kyfonnooa; peasants.	

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Property in these islands, as may easily be conjectured, consists principally in plantations, houses, and canoes, and the right of succession to it is regulated by the order of relationship, as given under the head of Nobles, p. 83, so in like manner is the right of succession to the throne.

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Having now given a view of the rank of individuals in society, with reference to religion, civil government, and professional occupations; we have now to consider it in respect to old age, sex, and childhood.

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Old persons of both sexes are highly reve-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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sit down. The matabooʻle, who has the direction of the ceremonies, now advances in front of the people, and orders them to divide themselves in parties, according to their districts; which being done, he gives to one party the business of clearing away the bushes, grass, &c. from one side of the grave, and to another to do the same in regard to another part, a third to remove such and such rubbish, &c. so that the whole neighbourhood of the *fytoca* becomes perfectly clear: this being done, all the people return to their respective temporary houses.

Soon after dark, certain persons stationed at the grave begin again to sound the conchs, while others chant partly in an unknown language*, and partly in Hamoa, a sort of song, or rather a piece of recitative. While this is going on, a number of men in the neighbourhood get ready to come to the grave, to perform a part of the ceremony which the reader will not think altogether consonant with the

* The natives can give no account of what this language is, nor how they originally came to learn the words. It has been handed down from father to son, among that class of people whose business it is to direct burial ceremonies. None of them understand the words. It begins thus: *too fia o chi tóccalów eio chi toccalów ea me fafángo eio manáve távto, &c.* There are several Tonga words among it, and in all probability it is old or corrupted Tonga, though no sense can now be made of it.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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or even a flattened nail, to which a handle is affixed. They only ornament those clubs which are considered good on account of their form, or the quality of the wood, or those which have done much execution: to the latter it used to be the custom to give a proper name. Those that make these ornaments are chiefly canoe-builders.

TOOFOONGA TA'BOO, superintendants of funeral rites: these, as the name indicates, have the regulation of every thing regarding burials of principal chiefs: they are generally mata-booles, and are always consulted respecting the preparations and forms of ceremony necessary on such occasions, and which are handed down by them from father to son.

TOOFOONGA TA MA'CCA, or makers of stone vaults for the burial of chiefs. The general form of these vaults has been already described, (Vol. I. p. 144.) The stones used for this purpose are about a foot in thickness, and are cut of the requisite dimensions, out of the stratum found on the beaches of some of the islands.

JIA COBE'NGA, net-making. This art is performed exactly in the same way as with us: the thread is made of the inner bark of a tree, which they call *olongá:* large nets, however, are made of plait, formed from the husk of the cocoa-nut.

TOOFOONGA TOTY'ICA, fishermen. All those

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

goes to the island beyond the sky." This is confirmed by other writers (28, 38, 40), although other ideas of the road to Pulotu are no less unmistakably found. Sir James Frazer has summed up the published accounts of burial and mourning ceremonial (20, vol. 2, pp. 84-147.) It is said that common people were regarded as having no souls; but there seems to be a difficulty, at any rate among present-day Tongans, in deciding just at what point of social elevation a man might hope to be eligible for the joys of Pulotu, and possibly many a man whom his superiors regarded as hopelessly disqualified nourished a secret hope that he might, after all, inherit the pleasures and consequence that were denied him amongst mortals.

When a person has died, and is still lying in the house where he died, only those who are *fahu* to him can go into the part of the house which is about the dead man's head, or can do anything to the upper part of the body. Practical difficulties in preparing the body, should any arise, may be overcome by a *fahu* summoning whom he will to help. The bidding of the *fahu* nulifies the tapu. Foreigners are exempt from tapu binding on natives. In especial the persons who attend the bodies of the dead are the *haa tufunga*, certain *matapule* whose hereditary duty and privilege this is. Tradition makes it clear that this right has been given from one family to another. For a high chief, all who come near the body will be *haa tufunga*. There are considerable emoluments attached to this rank, or duty, as the *haa tufunga* take all the mats which have touched the body and are not buried with it. In practical application there seems to be considerable modification of rules, and eligibility to perform certain functions is not always clearly defined, especially in the case of people of humble social rank.

For some time after the *haa tufunga* have performed their duties about the body of a high chief people are rather shy of them. If they drank from a cup in a house they would take it away with them. A chiefly girl has told me that she noticed at the obsequies of a late head of her own house that the *haa tufunga* all took their own cups with them to avoid embarrassment. I have never seen the *nimatapu* (the hands of a person who has lately touched the dead rendered tapu so that he cannot feed himself) and I am doubtful if many, even of living Tongans, can have seen it; but I have heard of one European who has seen it in comparatively recent years.

The children and brothers of a dead man may not approach the body, but his grandchildren may. He is of superior social rank to his children, but not to his grandchildren.

Ordinarily the women are busy about the dead. Women wail, more or less constantly, from the time the death occurs till the body is removed from the house. Men do not stay in the house where the body is lying. At some time after the burial a woman who is *fahu* to the deceased sprinkles water in the house where he died, and all tapu is thus removed from it.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

was only five feet in length, the two ends slanting inwards. The depth was four feet or more. The walls were about 1 foot thick. The stone slab serving as a cover was some two feet thick and seven feet square, overlapping the edges of the vault's opening. All of the stone slabs were of a yellowish coral smoothly surfaced and edged. The body was wrapped in *ngatu* (tapa) and fine mats. It was lowered feet foremost on account of the narrow opening. The covering slab was moved by ropes passed round its edges, and pulled by men who stood at the foot of the langi, since no one could stand on the terraces but the *kaatufunga* (burial director).

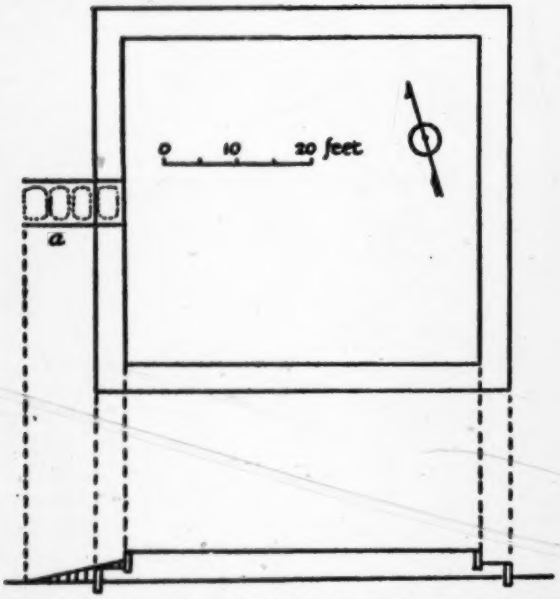

FIGURE 30.—Plan of langi Olovehi, Lifuka Island, length of northern wall 56 feet, length of western wall 51.5 feet, height 3.5 feet, wall of bottom tier 2 feet high, 0.4 to 0.7 foot thick; wall of top tier 1.5 feet high, 0.4 to 0.6 foot thick: *a*, approach with retaining walls 14.5 feet long and 5.5 feet apart.

The following are known to have been entered in the vault: (1) Nanasi Pau, Tui Tonga Fefine; (2) Manumatoongo, father of Losaline Fatafehi; (3) Makaholokovalu, the late Tuita's father; (4) the late Tuita. A great number of bones, found outside the vault, were called *fukafeao*."

The vault described is said to be near the westernmost upper wall of the langi, at the top of the inclined approach.

25. Otalafaiva on the island of Euakafa, Vavau, Type D (fig. 31).

The stones of the retaining walls surrounding the flat-topped platform of Otalafaiva are of average size in proportion to the height of the wall.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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764 The village undertaker is usually in charge of the corpse
767 at the grave. He is called to the house only if expert services are required in laying out the body. If, for instance, there were complications in the death, or if the mouth or nose began to bleed, then the expert would be called in to arrange everything in a decent manner.

764 The grave has been dug by relatives during the night.
[602] Other relatives have been at work before dawn preparing the oven for the funeral feast. The food continues to cook while the body is being interred. When the corpse reaches the cemetery, it is lowered into the grave. The undertaker
[767] gets into the grave also and arranges the mats and bark cloth round the body. He puts a large stone on top of the body to anchor it to the grave. Then he climbs out and the
[533] grave is filled in. There is singing and praying while this is
[782] being done. Finally the village overseer stands on the grave
[644] and makes a brief statement in which he urges the mourners to still their grief. He also announces the arrangements for the funeral feast and *kava*-drinking.

764 A *kava*-circle is formed on an open space near to the
276 mourners' house. The village overseer is invited to preside.
594 On his left hand sits the undertaker and on his right sits the
767 man who acts as attendant chief *(matapule)* to the village
624 overseer. As the *kava* is being made, the ovens are opened.
565 Then when the *kava* is clear and ready for drinking, the
644 undertaker orders the food to be displayed. If special formality is desired, five stalks of sugar-cane are brought forward at this time. One stalk is placed before the overseer, two before the undertaker, and two before the attendant chief. The undertaker and the attendant each break their stalks into a sufficient number of pieces so that there is one piece for each of the men of the *kava* circle. This sugar cane
[784] then constitutes the *kava*-relish *(fono ae kava)*.[24] It is *tapu* to smoke tobacco at any time during this funeral celebration.

764 The *kava* is now served. The undertaker receives the
276 first cup. He pours the *kava* from the cup handed him into
594 a special *tapu* cup that he carries with him. The other
767

[24] It is common today in the village for the *fahu* to take the *kava*-relish presented to his mother's brother, a custom which Gifford notes
[178] (*Tongan Society*, p. 24) as "anciently not extensively practised among commoners."

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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764 members drink from the cups provided for the circle. After
276 one round of *kava* is finished, the undertaker makes a brief
574 speech which runs as follows:
767
[537]
[539]

> "Thank you, O chiefly people, for coming to the funeral of this man. Now he rests quietly in his last resting-place. Tomorrow you will all gather together again. We shall finish this funeral on the morrow. We shall finish the work of making the deceased a chiefly person. Then everything will be finished as it should be. Now there is nothing more to do."

[576] The references to chiefly people in these words are merely polite exaggerations indicating respect for the deceased and respect also for those present. They mean, "important people," not people of noble rank, for none in this commoner village has any illusions over his ultimate status in this world.

764 The *kava*-circle breaks up. Each man or family
574 represented goes home with his or its division of the food which is eaten with other members of the family.

765 On the afternoon of this day, the family of the deceased goes back to the cemetery to spend the afternoon wailing and chanting.

Early next morning, the family and its relatives go to the cemetery at dawn. The men clear away the weeds from the grave. The women go to the nearest beach, bring back clean sand and coral-pebbles to strew on the grave. When
765 this decorating work is finished, another feast is held.
574 Uncooked food, generally ripe bananas, ripe plantains, sugar
276 cane, melons, papaia, pineapples, bread, is collected together
767 and placed in an open space near the cemetery. A *kava*-circle is formed with the undertaker presiding. Again, when the *kava* is clear and ready for serving, the undertaker orders the food to be divided. After one round, he makes a further speech of thanks to all those who have attended and helped with the decorating of the grave.

765 Commencing with the night following the burial and for
602 the following ten nights, there is a strict mourning-period (*mohe* or *nofoaki putu*) for all the close relatives of the deceased. Only the women sleep in the bereaved house. By day, men and women work bringing food from the bush to feed the group; part of each day is also spent carrying

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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grave-pebbles and sand to decorate further the grave. On the tenth day, the close male relatives prepare a large feast to bring this mourning period to a close *(fakamalele ae putu)*. The food is kept until nightfall when all the young boys and girls in the village, all the unmarried youth, that is, from puberty onwards, are invited to come to the deceased's house there to dance, sing and be joyful. The older people sit drinking *kava* and watching the fun. After the first making of the *kava*, the feast is divided among all present, young and old. The merry-making and *kava*-drinking continue until an early hour in the next morning. Then the people gather up their food-divisions and return home. The period of mourning is over. Relatives return to their own villages, if they have come from afar. The everyday life of the village can renew itself.

For the death of an important individual in the village, this ten-day mourning-period is considered sufficient. During this time it is *tapu* for anyone in the village to sing, dance, or make bark cloth. For an important noble, the mourning-period may last for six months or more. The status of the deceased is shown by the length of his mourning-period and the consequent *tapu* on any joyful activities or on bark cloth making.

Semisi, the resident village undertaker *(ha'a tufunga)* is of no high social class. He inherited his skill from his father who was undertaker before him. Semisi would not attempt to embalm a body. He limits his job to the arrangement of the corpse in the house (if this is necessary) and to a general superintendence over the burial. For his services Semisi is paid with bark cloth, mats, and food. Semisi has the right to the honorific name of Manafa, a name conferred on him by the high chief Lepakuku of the village of Leimatua. This name not only increases Semisi's importance in the village—it is the name by which he is called in a *kava* circle—but it gives him the right to practice undertaking anywhere in Tonga. In other words, it makes him a sort of recognized member of the informal guild of Tongan undertakers. After each burial, Semisi is in a *tapu* state for two or three days. He eats by himself and does not take any part in food-preparation. An undertaker of the highest social class must

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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767 554 764 252 resign himself to eating alone all the days of his life.[25] His left-over food is always given to animals—it may never be eaten by another human. He may never cook for his wife or children. His food is always prepared for him.

858 766 [845 553 767] DEATH OF CHILDREN

An infant who dies at birth or is stillborn may be named, or not, according to the wish of the parents. It is buried in the village cemetery, by the parents themselves, without benefit of the undertaker's skill. A child is hardly important enough to merit calling in the undertaker. The difference in pattern between the death ceremonial for the adult as just described, and that for a young child is well brought out by the following notes on the death of an eight months old infant.

766 858 593 603 This infant, Kuli by name, suffered from a fever for five days then died suddenly at noon, in his mother's mother's house. Present at the death were the mother, the mother's mother, and the mother's mother's sister, the latter two being very old women, partially blind and crippled. An unrelated woman passerby heard the first death wail from the mother. She went inside the house and found the dead baby cupped on the weeping mother's lap. The woman closed the baby's eyes and left. Outside the house sat the infant's father. A three-year-old sister of the infant is sent crying from the house to join her father. The mother soon leaves the house of death to go to her own house to fetch the laying-out mats and bark cloth. The mother's brother's daughter arrives and commences to clean and sweep the death-house. The half-senile mother's mother begins to talk to arriving mourners who have difficulty in suppressing laughter at the

[25] Formerly, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 196-198), a commoner was most likely to be buried by a relative. "Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*." Gifford also notes that after a burial, an undertaker could not feed himself for five, ten, or fifteen days, the period of *tapu* depending upon the rank of the deceased. Information in the text above that the Pangai undertaker eats by himself for two or three days, probably represents a modern variation on the more complete *tapu* of not eating with the hands. Information that the highest-class undertakers eat by themselves all the days of their lives probably represents village belief only. There is no mention of this extreme *tapu* in the pages of Gifford.

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30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

probably puzzle most natives to draw the exact line at which the class of the soul-bearers ends and that of the soulless begins. Chiefs were buried in cemeteries (to which amongst other names that of *malae* is applied), whilst the lower orders were interred in some convenient place close to the dwelling. A man living alone would perhaps be buried inside his house and the house then deserted or even burned down. The members of a more numerous household would be buried round about the house, and when say half a dozen had been thus disposed of the survivors would seek a fresh site for their habitation. Christianity has endowed the common folk with souls, and promoted their mortal remains to the dignity of as careful interment in cemeteries as that enjoyed by their "betters." In speaking of a very high dead chief it is not uncommon to refer to him as "the chief in such a burial ground, or malae." The highest chiefs are often said to be "away," or "at a distance," when their death is spoken of.

After the death of the late King George II, in 1918, the body lay in state for several days (not an ancient custom), and every night during the lying in state multitudes of lanterns were burnt about the palace, and little fires completely surrounded the compound. These were tended in silence during the night, and might not be extinguished until the first had been put out by one of the very few persons—one at least of whom was a woman—of sufficiently high rank to give this signal. In this, as in other matters, foreigners are exempted from the tabus which bind the natives. One morning when a native able to extinguish the first flame was not at hand the services of an Indian cook were requisitioned, or were just about to be when a native appeared who was entitled to perform this ceremony. In the case of the kings the tasks connected with their burial are largely in the hands of the craftsman class or hereditary guild (*haa tufunga*). The tombs of the old Tongan kings stand in inviolate sanctity in places almost untrodden by human foot, and the gloom of forest and thicket enshrouds these abodes of supernatural dread. In modern times the Christian care of the resting places of the dead has overcome the old avoidance of burial-places. The present kings of Tonga, moreover, are buried in the town of Nukualofa, the capital, and the necessity of keeping such a site clear is modifying the old tabus.